2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

(peligones). Lychnidis, the Roman name for the lake of Ochrida, is possibly the Albanian "Licheni," a lake. And the Molotti, or Molossi, may mean mountain men, as does the Albanian Maltsor, from Maltsia mountains. (Usually incorrectly spelt Malessori, an Italianized form, it being against the principles of Italian to put "lt" together.)

The Romans drove the Illyrian tribes into rugged ground. Similarly in North Albania of to-day the tribes owe their continued existence in a great part to the mountains. Conquerors always take the fat lands, leaving the lean to the conquered—if they leave them any. That many descendants of the ancient people survived is shown by the tradition to-day in the mountains that "Latini" or "Pagani" or "Anas" were living on the lands when the ancestors of the present tribes arrived. "Anas" is Albanian for "indigenous."

Roughly speaking, the man who tilled the soil and who herded beasts has been rudely displaced three times on the west side of the Balkan peninsula. (1) By the invading Roman. (2) By the invading Serb. (3) By the invading Turk.

The history of the present tribes is mainly that of the third displacement. Each tribe has a tale of origin. Unfortunately first the Balkan wars of 1912–13 and then the Great War interrupted and ended my work before I had collected them all. I give such details as I gathered.

The Albanian tribe (Fis) descends from one male ancestor (or several). All persons tracing descent from the same male ancestor, no matter how distant, are reckoned "brothers and sisters," and are not intermarriageable. The law of exogamy is most strictly observed. The heads of families know by heart surprisingly long pedigrees—knowledge of great importance, as both marriage and blood vengeance are regulated by consanguinity. We may be certain that groups which will not intermarry have in truth a common male ancestor. Women do not count. The child, I was told, has none of its mother's blood. Whence it follows that tribes which continually intermarry because they have not a common male ancestor are, in fact, often very closely related on the female side, having given daughters to, and taken wives from, each other for generations. But they jeered at me heartily when I suggested this.

Tribal instinct is far stronger than Church law. Many of these exogamous tribes are Catholic. The Catholic Church prohibits the marriage of second cousins—but no further. I asked an Albanian Franciscan, a tribesman himself, how he reconciled this with his strongly expressed opinion that to marry "one's own blood," however remote, was incest. "Suppose some fourth or fifth cousins asked you to marry them, could you, as priest, refuse?" He was much upset.

173 dark people inhabiting the land, with whom they intermarried. Eight houses near Abate, in lower Shala, trace descent from these old inhabi-
142 tants. The rest of them migrated to Dechani. The Albanians I saw at Dechani in 1903 were certainly all of the small dark type.

614 Shala consists of four bairaks: Thethi, Petsaj, Lothaj, and Lekaj. The three latter are said to have separated into three groups 376 years
[613 ago (told me in 1908). Lothaj and Lekaj recently decided they were far
582] enough removed to be intermarriageable. But Shoshi and Mirdita still would not marry with them.

The bairak of Thethi consists of 180 houses. In these mountains a "house" is far more numerous than in the Maltsia e Madhe. Large communal "houses" still exist, of as many as thirty or forty persons. Thethi is self-governing, and, in fact, is practically a separate tribe. It clings strongly to exogamy, and does not intermarry at all within the tribe, nor does Petsaj. Thethi marries almost entirely with Boga, and this, continued through many generations, has made the Thethi differ somewhat in physical type from the rest of Shala.

619 2. *Shoshi.*—Origin as above. It lies south of Shala, on the right bank of Shala river. The rock of Lek Dukagin is in Shoshi territory. Shala and Shoshi reckon themselves as "Dukagini," former subjects, that is, of the now extinct chieftain family of Dukagin. Shoshi and Shala are entirely Catholic.

3. *Toplana.*—This was a very wild tribe and had the highest record for blood-vengeance of all the Christian tribes. It is situated in very rugged mountains difficult of access. Toplana told me it was "very old." Baron Nopcsa traced pedigrees to 1450, and considers that about that time it came in to its present site from Vasojevitch. Vasojevitch is known to have shifted its ground from somewhere near Focha in the Herzegovina to Medun, near Podgoritza, and thence to its present site. In one of these shifts it probably drove Toplana out.

The whole district occupied by the above seven tribes is often called Maltsia e Vogel, the little mountains. Also included in the diocese of Pulati is:—

4. *Nikaj.*—Here I was told that the tribe is mainly an offshoot from the Moslem tribe of Krasnichi, which, as we have seen, is brother to Hoti. Nikol, the ancestor, left Krasnichi while that tribe was still Christian, and Nikaj is all Catholic. One hundred houses of Nikaj, the Tsuraj, trace descent from a daughter of Nikol, who bore an illegitimate
● [611] child by a cut-eared gipsy ("tsurrue," to cut or mark the ears). This is the only case of female descent I heard of. The cut ear suggests that the gipsy had been mutilated as a punishment and had fled to the mountains. The Nikaj people are dark and are a wild lot. Gipsy blood is possible.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

583 184 principal inhabitants of Orosh have all been acquired in this way, and far from resenting or being ashamed of the circumstance, they are, on the contrary, proud of it, and their relatives accept the situation on payment of the usual dowry. And although they may not embrace with enthusiasm the faith into which they are generally baptised as a preliminary to marriage, they scrupulously observe its external forms, are much devoted to their husbands, proud of their reputation, and jealous of their honour, which, should occasion require, they are ready either to defend or avenge.

428 611 Among these exogamous tribes, succession is, as a rule, in the male line. If, however, there are no surviving sons, and a daughter chooses to remain single, she may enjoy the usufruct of her father's property, which on her death reverts to her nearest male relatives. If a man die childless his property is divided among his male relatives, who pay to his widow a pension, she remaining in his house or returning to her friends as she pleases, and retaining all that she has received from her parents either before or after her marriage.

567 428 As with the Osmanlis, the children by slaves of Moslem Albanians have an equal right with those of free mothers to succeed to the estate of their father.[1]

587 If the deceased husband has an unmarried brother, the latter has a right to marry the widow with or without her consent. On the wedding-day she receives from him the present of an ox, or its equivalent, four goats.

[1] The father of Ali Pasha, of Ioannina, was the son of a slave.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

This want of restrictions may be attributed, partly to the smaller emphasis which south Albanians lay on descent in the male line, partly to the greater store which, probably under Greek influence, they set on relationships in general. North Albanians, when sent to work in south Albania, always expressed lively astonishment when they found, for instance, a southerner claiming as a relative a man who was only the brother of his wife's brother.

It occasionally happens that a young widow with a son remarried in another family, who probably lived in another village or even district, and had a son by her second husband. Almost without exception the son by her first husband remained with his father's family, so that the two boys grew up apart. Even if the first son accompanied his mother on her remarriage, he had at an early age to return to his father's family. There never was any doubt that the two boys belonged to different households. They recognized each other as brothers, however, and if one was killed, the other had as much right as a full brother on the father's side to avenge him. But if either wished to avenge another male in the other's household, he could only do so by joining an expedition led by the master of that household; he could not do so independently, for except to his half-brother he was an outsider.

'Women do not have rifles' ran the Kanùn. As a corollary 'Women do not have blood feuds', it continued. One result of these Kanùns was that women could not properly avenge their murdered relatives. It was also recognized that they were generally too timorous to do so. A few 'strong characters', however, had been known to lay aside their feminine fears and to kill an enemy. Thus the virgin Emin of Orenjë in Çermenikë avenged her father. When he was killed she was still in the cradle and as she grew up she became aware that her four cousins, the only males left in the family, did not show too much zeal in avenging him. When she was fifteen, she secretly bought a rifle and, seeing the enemy one day come within range of the windows of her home, she fired at him and killed him with the third shot. Then her cousins were trebly annoyed. She, a woman, had proved herself their superior in courage; for her crime one of their lives was forfeit; and they had hoped to compound the feud without further bloodshed, a hope she had destroyed. In fact, she had embittered the feud by putting the enemy to the shame of losing a relative at a woman's hands. Again, a woman from Tërbaç, near Elbasan, hearing that her son

589 her alive. It is doubtful if this punishment has been exacted on any such person within the last few generations.

As the reader can readily see, this custom has its economic aspects. The number of hands available for men's work is increased by two, that for women's work decreased by the same number. There is a second and less dramatic reason for a girl to swear virginity: if her father has no sons to help him with his work, or if his sons are killed. Then a daughter may step into the position of a son, and the [429] situation is momentarily saved. However, since the pseudo-son will have no offspring, the line will become extinct with her death, and the property pass to the next of kin on the father's side. This custom is at variance with the usual one in comparable societies, in which the husband of the man's daughter comes to live with her parents, and is adopted as an •[611] heir. So strong is the belief in the continuity of the male line that this could not be done in Ghegnia.

On my travels I encountered only 2 sworn virgins. One wore men's clothes, and appeared to be either mentally defective or at least "queer." That also was her reputation. The second wore women's clothes. She was in her early twenties, and quite attractive. Since she spent the night with a junior member of my group of horse-drivers, I formed a poor opinion of the burning-alive theory. It is quite apparent that the practice of swearing virginity is not only often economic in motivation, but also a part of the whole business of local population control, along with the entire configuration of pride, insult, and feuding.

587 Two other mechanisms help maintain the personnel of the family at the optimum numerical working level, and to prevent the isolation of separate individuals or small, uneconomic groups. One is the levirate. Classically this means that when a man dies, his widow will be married to a surviving brother [165] or next of kin if such a brother is lacking. In a country where the rate of death by violence reaches the level of 40 per cent of all male [582] deaths in some localities, and where girls are married at 14 or 15, many are widowed.

Such a widow must be cared for by the men of her husband's family, since they have paid

173 Turks, came from different places. The people of Toplana were driven to their present mountain stronghold from Vasojevitch in Montenegro about 1450, being pushed out by immigrants from Herzegovina. The ancestors of Plani came from 3 sources: Klementi, Merturi, and indigenous *anas*. Those of Kiri were from Kuchi and Ipek, in Montenegro. One hundred houses of Nikaj people are said to be descended from a daughter of Nikol by a gypsy, and are called Tsura. This is the only instance known of female descent, and indicates the relative social status of the alleged spouses.

The famous invasion of the Dukagin brothers, Shosh, Shal, Orosh, Spaç, and Kushnen, probably took place before the Bosniak migration.[20] Miss Durham derives them from the Pestriku mountains near Jakova, where they were part of the Ipek tribal confederacy. My informants named Marina *bairak* as their home. In Shala they are supposed to have found some small, dark people with whom they intermarried. A few of these *anas* stayed on, and there are said to be 8 houses of them at Abate in Lower Shala, while the rest immigrated to Dechani. The Mirdita brethren found the Dibri and Fan people ahead of them.

One tradition relates that the Dukagin *bairaks* of Mirdita did not stay long in their new home, but when the Turks had taken Scutari and were raiding the neighboring mountains, the settlers retreated to their ancient home, from which they did not return to Mirdita until around 1650. How true this is, and how many people, if any, it involved, cannot be determined.

We know finally that Jakova town was settled by people from various parts of the Gheg mountains, and the same is true of Ipek. These were cities of refuge, like earlier towns before them. More recent than any of these is the village of Vraka, a community of a thousand people lying between Koplik and Scutari. This is the residence of Serbian-speaking, Orthodox farmers, whose ancestors fled from blood vengeance in various parts of Montenegro, Herzegovina, and Bosnia. They have not yet become absorbed, and with modern

[See p. 45a - Analyst]